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GERMAN SCIENTISTS WARN OF NUCLEAR PERIL

A SOLEMN warning "as to the consequences which might result from a criminal misuse of their research" has been issued on behalf of 3,000 German physicists.

The warning comes in a statement issued at a meeting of the Union of German Societies of Physics, held at Essen on Oct. 5. A translation of the full text, made for Peace News by Hilda von Klenze, reads: "German physicists are deeply concerned at the increase of nuclear armaments everywhere. The Union of German Societies of Physics therefore once more warns the public that the use of these weapons in war will inevitably lead to the annihilation of millions of people and to complete devastation through radio-activity."

"The physicists who desire their work to benefit mankind repeat their previous warning as to the consequences which a criminal misuse of the results of their research might have."

"They wish to state with all possible emphasis that nuclear weapons are capable of the wholesale destruction of all races and will expose to the horrors of death by radiation even those nations which are not involved in the conflict."

"On behalf of its 3,000 members, the Union of German Societies of Physics again urgently appeals to the public and in particular to responsible politicians in all governments and parliaments to give unceasing and constant support to any attempts at a peaceful settlement between the States and

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TOLSTOY LIVES ON

An article by Richard Gregg, author of "The Power of Non-violence," "Self-transcendence," and others, who was praised by Gandhi because he wrote with first-hand knowledge of Satyagraha, appears on page six. Also on page six K. J. Tarasoff, editor of the Canadian Doukhobor magazine "Inquirer," tells of his impressions when he visited Russia last year as the representative of young Canadian Doukhobors principally to contact Russian Doukhobors (a Christian pacifist sect which originated in Russia).

China, U.N. and the U.S.A.

HERE ARE THE ANSWERS TO MR. DULLES

ON August 11, 1958, the American Department of State sent to its missions abroad a memorandum on US policy regarding non-recognition of Communist China and opposition to seating that Government in the United Nations.

The summary we print below gives the main points of the official memorandum. The comments are the result of the work of a Quaker research team which set out to marshal the arguments against official policy for the Washington Newsletter.

Women to fly to Geneva to spur on stop-tests talks

Peace News Reporter

NEXT week negotiations on the suspension of tests begin in Geneva. If they fail attempts to reduce tension will be increasingly difficult. The situation is still sufficiently fluid for Britain to secure a successful outcome.

To concentrate public opinion on this matter, a Geneva Committee of Parents is sending a delegation of women to Geneva to see the representatives at the forthcoming conference to press for the ending of tests for all time.

Supporters will gather on the Roof Garden of Queen's building, London Airport, at 9 a.m. on the day that the delegates leave for Geneva (Nov. 1).

As many people as possible are urged to come along to give the delegates a good send off. Organisers of parties are asked to let the Direct Action Committee (374, Seven Sisters Road, London, N.4. STA 7062) know about the size of their party.

The delegation is being supported by a vigil at the House of Commons and deputations and individuals are lobbying their MPs, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister. The Embassies concerned are being approached. There will also be a send off by supporters at the air port.

Among the sponsors are Frank Allaun, MP, Alex Comfort, Anthony Greenwood, MP, Dr. and Mrs. Soper, Harold and Sheila Steele, Doris Lessing and Benn Levy.

More information about the lobby and vigil is available from Robert Catterall, KIN 9390 or from Mrs. D. Barasi, TUD 1715.

Official US Position: According to the State Department, diplomatic recognition "would produce no tangible benefits to the United States or to the free world as a whole and would be of material assistance to Chinese Communist attempts to extend Communist domination throughout Asia."

East Asia is "peculiarly vulnerable" to the Communist offensive, because of closeness to China, inexperience in self-government, suspicions of the West inherited from the colonial past, and the social, political and economic changes which these countries are undergoing. Loss of this area to Communism "could have a disastrous effect on the free world's ability to resist effectively the encroachments of Communism elsewhere." Thus the United States has sought to deter Communist aggression in East Asia through military assistance to the nations directly in the path of Chinese Communist expansion—Korea, Taiwan and Viet-Nam—and by a system of mutual defence arrangements with other nations of the area.

Comment: The whole policy of military containment has extreme limitations, especially in the nuclear age. It has brought the world to the brink of a devastating nuclear war at Quemoy. The way to combat aggression is not to refuse to recognise the aggressor but to bring the disputants to the conference table to negotiate and to confront them with the force of world opinion.

Secretary of State Dulles said on April 25, 1956, that members of the UN are restrained from precipitous action because in the UN "international conduct is judged, sometimes formally but more often informally; and even the most powerful nations feel it expedient to represent their conduct as conforming to this body of world opinion."

SUBVERSION

Official US Position: Non-recognition can help to offset the threat of subversion and political infiltration by reducing China's access to international councils and undercutting that nation's international prestige.

Comment: The way to combat subversion and infiltration is to build sound economies in the under-developed countries and encourage stable governments with democratic leadership that can command the confidence of the people. Many Asians have come to believe that China is the victim of unjust ostracism, not because she is Communist, but because she is Asian.

Vast numbers of people in Asia look upon the United States as a threat to peace, and our China policy as confirmation of this view. There is fear either that the United States will use military measures to end the Communist regime in China if it fails to collapse or that Chiang Kai-shek will purposely involve the United States if he can.

Official US Position: The Communists have not completed the conquest of China. "The generally recognised legitimate government of China continues to exist and . . . is steadily developing its political,

economic and military strength." This Government presents a significant deterrent to renewed Chinese Communist aggression. Recognition of Communist China would "seriously cripple, if not destroy altogether" the legitimate government. Support of the Republic of China, on the other hand, "enables it to challenge the claim of the China Communists to represent the Chinese people and keeps alive the hopes of those Chinese who are determined eventually to free their country of Communist rule." Furthermore, the United States is firmly convinced that Communist rule will pass away. There is already dissatisfaction and unrest. We seek to hasten that passing by withholding diplomatic recognition.

Comment: Most Asians feel that Chiang Kai-shek is a feudalistic discredited by his own people. There is little possibility of a successful return to the mainland—unless the United States is willing to participate in an invasion. Furthermore, it is generally believed in Asia that the Chinese Communists could easily suppress any internal uprising. The Communist regime has improved the economic conditions of the masses, who have never enjoyed freedom in the Western sense. Visitors to China assert that the Government by its policies on such things as education and health has enlisted wide support among the people.

Recognition of Communist China would not destroy the Nationalist Government if an independent Taiwan were established and if the Nationalists were able to provide a government capable of retaining the loyalty of the people on the island. After all, the population of Taiwan is greater than that of Norway or Sweden or Denmark or Finland, which are all independent countries.

UN AND PEACE

Official US Position: If the United States recognises Red China, the large and influential overseas Chinese communities in South-east Asia might switch their allegiance from the Republic of China and become centres of Communist subversion.

Comment: These overseas Chinese know that it is unlikely the Nationalists will ever return to power on the mainland. Many take a policy of non-alignment with either regime. Their future action will depend to a considerable degree on the extent to which they are invited to be full citizens of the country in which they live and are made to feel a part of its society, culture and economy.

Official US Position: Recognition would inevitably lead to seating the Chinese Communists in the UN. This would "vitiate, if not destroy, the United Nations as an instrument for the maintenance of international peace." If this government, "while still unpurged of its aggression and defying the will of the United Nations in Korea, were seated, this would amount to a confession of failure on the part of the United Nations and would greatly reduce the prospects for future successful action by the United Nations against aggression."

Comment: All nations should be in the UN and all major disputes should be subject to peaceful settlement within its framework. UN membership would not imply approval of the Chinese Communist regime, any more than it has implied approval of Russian Communism, or fascism in Spain, or dictatorship in Cuba, or the attack on Suez by Israel, Great Britain and France, or the suppression of liberty in Hungary. But the UN should be the institution for bringing nations which threaten the peace before the bar of world opinion and the agency to facilitate negotiations for the solutions of the tough, complicated issues which have to

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"OLD CHINESE PROVERB SAY: WHEN ANGRY MAN STAND ON DIGNITY IT MAY BE FOR WANT OF A SEAT."

Courtesy Evening Standard

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SANITY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE?**AN ARGUMENT FOR LIMITED WAR**

Grigor McClelland reviews

On War, by Raymond Aron. Secker and Warburg, 16s.

THIS "essay" by a French professor of sociology was written in August, 1956, and is now published in English with a postscript to take account of the Sputnik. The main lines of the argument are as follows.

The character of States and politics, at least at present, is such that world government and nuclear disarmament are both impossible. But the present situation of bilateral thermo-nuclear deterrence is not unstable provided that each side is vulnerable and knows which actions of its own might unleash massive retaliation.

Indeed, progress in rocketry makes it more stable by removing the possibility and thus the temptation of a "knock-out" blow. Where the two major powers confront each other and their vital interests are at stake (to wit, in Europe), the status quo (however undesirable) tends to be preserved since "ambiguities are more dangerous than paradoxes."

Elsewhere the West has been placed at a disadvantage by its relative lack of conventional weapons, and since it is unrealistic to deal with every problem by threatening an H-bomb war, it is vital that the West should learn to differentiate between various sorts of possible war and prepare effectively for each.

These arguments echo those put forward in this country by Rear-Admiral Buzzard, Professor Blackett and others, and in the USA by Professor Kissinger, in favour of limited atomic war. M. Aron in his postscript, however, argues that such limitation is impracticable. He does not make clear why the arguments he uses should not be used equally against his own proposed limitation. And curiously he does not deal with the most usual argument against retention by the West of "adequate" conventional as well as nuclear arms—cost.

It is, in fact, a curious book in many ways. From a sociologist one might have expected some contribution to the methodology of the study of international relations, or some special awareness of the psychological factors and their *modus operandi*. But States are dealt with throughout as the only reality, and the only sociology is a penchant for pretentious chapter headings (guerrilla warfare is called "polymorphous violence" and a survey of recent developments in Europe, Asia and the Far East is called "unity and plurality of the diplomatic field"). Sweeping historical generalisations are made on the relatively slender basis of the twentieth century and a reading of Thucydides.

Some of M. Aron's statements are tautologous, though he thinks they refer to

reality; some are inaccurate through carelessness or through ignorance of the situation he is discussing; some express unavowed prejudices; some are opinions contradicted elsewhere; some are arguable but unargued.

Thus we are told that the Resistance in Europe was not in opposition to the proper government where it was approved by the proper government; that the German State disappeared in 1944; that guerrilla, mechanised and thermo-nuclear warfare *equally* presuppose science, industry and conscription; that the Arabs would fight to the death to reconquer Palestine; and that the Soviet Union, "taking advantage of the Japanese defeat," was responsible for the victory of Chinese Communism.

More seriously, when M. Aron contradicts himself, we do not know where he stands. Thus he appears to assume that a neutral State must be "solidly armed" but that Near Eastern or African States can be neutral; to believe that the colonial powers can, and can not, suppress guerrilla warfare in their colonies; to desire, and not to desire, the extension of the "atomic club"; to approve and to disapprove the idea of guerrilla-type armies for West European States; to accept the feasibility and the impossibility of disengagement in Europe.

Why, then, has the book been hailed as "pregnant" and "luminous"? The point is that within the framework of conventional assumptions about nuclear-age international relations, M. Aron's principal argument is inexorable, and refreshingly free from the wishful thinking and the cant that characterises so many public statements.

Time and again the alternatives that he considers lie within this framework; he chooses the more probable or the more desirable, and drives on to his "realist" conclusions. It is the alternatives that lie outside this framework—the alternatives of non-violence, of unilateral disarmament, of world government—that, like the motives of the Russians, the policy of Nehru, and the views of Toynbee, receive hasty, scornful and superficial treatment.

In reality the "diplomatic field" is not merely a chessboard on which motives are given and precise calculation is everything. It is even possible that at times M. Aron realises that the imponderables are important. At any rate, he suggests at one point that Hiroshima and Nagasaki may have been a mistake on the part of the West. If so, they are the sort of mistake which his whole philosophy renders inevitable.

Paul Robeson

THE TITLES and publishers of the two books reviewed in last week's Peace News by Scott Bayliss were unfortunately omitted. The books, which were about Paul Robeson, were: "Here I Stand," by Paul Robeson, Dobson, 10s. 6d., and "Paul Robeson," by Marie Seton, Dobson, 21s.

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UNEMPLOYMENT IN MAURITIUS**AMONG THE WORST IN THE WORLD**

By Peter Ibbotson

RECENTLY the Government of Mauritius instituted an inquiry into problems of unemployment in the colony; the report has just been published and reveals a shocking state of affairs.

For years the Labour Department has been saying that there were only about 2,000 unemployed; critics retorted that with no unemployment benefit and no jobs vacant, there was no incentive for people to register at the Labour Exchanges. The report of the recent inquiry has proved how right these critics were.

Consider the facts. At the end of last March the population of Mauritius was 600,724. Only 336,618 were of working age (over 14); of these, only 205,281, or 61 per cent, were economically active. The rest were students, ill, retired, housewives, etc. But of the 205,281 economically active persons, no less than 31,000—or 15.1 per cent—were unemployed. Of these, no less than 4,200 had never at any time had any work.

There was also widespread under-employment. In fact, no less than 20,477 workers—or 10 per cent of those economically active—were under-employed.

Unemployment is particularly severe among young people; half the unemployed are aged 18 and under.

Wages inadequate

The average length of the working week was found to be 37 hours; the average worker worked 23 days out of every 30. In other words, a possible 205,280 workers were available to work on 23 days each in order to feed 600,724 people for 30 days.

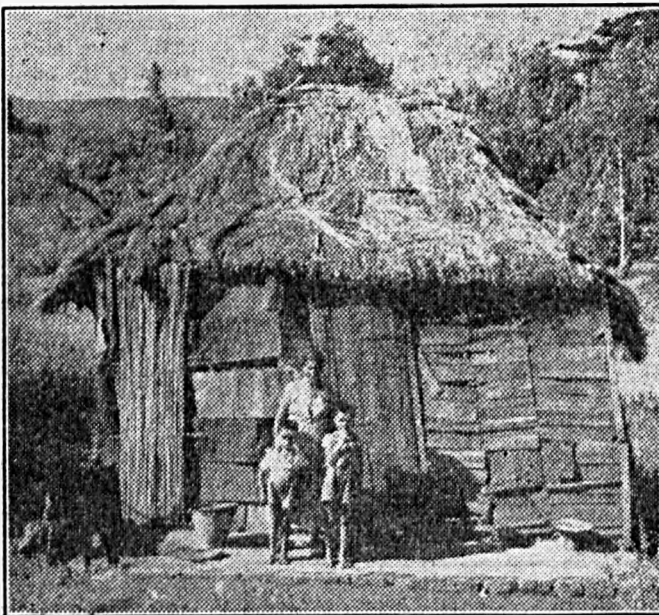
Only 4,721,440 workdays are thus available to provide 18,021,720 food days. This position of unemployment is among the worst in the world. Not only employment is spotlighted by

A shanty hut in Mauritius.

rupees (5s. 8d.) a day; those paid by the month received on average only 93 rupees (£7) a month. Yet the most meagre existence for a man, his wife and two children calls for 171 rupees (£12 17s.) a month; there have appeared in the local Press in recent months many workers' monthly budgets showing the gap between wages and expenditure.

No wonder that almost every Mauritian worker is born into debt, lives his whole life in debt, and dies in debt.

The situation is desperate. Veteran Labour leader J. N. Roy has warned that unless prompt measures are taken without delay, unemployment, discontent, agitation and the spirit of revolt will go on increasing, preparing a fertile ground for the inroad of Communism. That, says Mr. Roy, "is where capitalism in all its horrors has landed this poor country."

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Hiroshima panels fill New Zealand art gallery

From our Auckland Correspondent

TWO THOUSAND people, a record number, visited the Auckland Art Gallery on October 1 to see the Hiroshima panels.

The staff found it difficult to cope with the crowds and appealed to visitors not to come in the lunch hours unless that was the only time they had free.

The panels, which depict the horrors of atomic attack, had been stored at a New Zealand wharf pending the relaxing of an import ban on loan exhibitions.

"The Auckland Art Gallery is too small for the panels," the New Zealand Herald said. "They should be shown in the Town Hall—or in Queen Street for everybody to see."

The exhibition coincided with the return of a naval vessel from the Christmas Island tests and a Press Association report of an interview with the Commander, Lt.-Com. J. A. R. Swainson.

He said that nuclear weapons would soon be banned if everybody could see one explosion.

"I never want to see a nuclear test in anger. It was an awe-inspiring sight."

THE OFFICIAL AMERICAN LIE

ACCORDING to American officials, Russia either has instruments for detecting tests of a type unknown to the West, or has had spies present at the recent tests in the Pacific. The Americans have reached this conclusion because Russia has said that 32 devices had been tested in the recent series, as opposed to the official announcement of 14.

The Soviet figure was "almost correct," a US official said. He did not comment on the US War Department's figure of 14.

England expects

TWO anniversaries fall within this week, Trafalgar Day and United Nations Day. The attempt to glorify war, which was part of the spirit of Trafalgar, has given way to the recognition that the peoples of the world prefer the glories of peace, however imperfect an instrument to achieve them the United Nations may be.

What was seen as the glory of dying for England was only possible at the cost of the horror of killing as many of the enemy as possible. It is only when we renounce all right to kill that the real meaning of the readiness to die for a cause becomes clear. It is only when men completely abandon the method of war, even a UN war or a war of defence, that Peace will have the chance to win her victories over the real enemies of man.

"There is no discharge in that war." The duty which every citizen of this country and kingdom should be expected to do today is to show that Britain is great enough to give the moral lead which would transform the old glory in the achievement of war, through the readiness to recognise its futility and horror, into the complete renunciation of it in an act of unconditioned unilateral disarmament.

To that task we as pacifists are committed. Chesterton could write "Blessed is he that expecteth nothing, for he shall be gloriously disappointed." But the PPU has a right to expect that every member will do his duty by that great cause, giving of thought and deed, time and money, to its achievement, and not be disappointed with the response from you.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.
Amount received to date: £738.
Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

GETTING READY FOR

A CONFERENCE THAT WILL CHANGE THE COURSE OF AFRICAN HISTORY

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

MORE than sixty organisations throughout the African continent have already agreed to send representatives to the All-African Peoples Conference in Accra in early December.

The Conference is to consider non-violent methods which can be used in the struggle against race domination in Africa. It is expected to "strengthen those who have set themselves the goal of co-ordinating the revolt against white domination in ways whereby justice can be done to the greatest number without the need to resort to violence," writes Jordan Ngubane in Indian Opinion, the South African journal founded by Mahatma Gandhi.

Going on to describe the Conference, Jordan Ngubane says:

"The Conference is naturally of the greatest importance to the African people of the Union for a number of good reasons. It seeks to create a climate of political affinity within which the African can feel he is wanted; within which he can feel that his reality as a human being is recognised and respected. It also seeks to establish a cultural world within which the African, whom the men of apartheid reject and oppress, can find scope for a

life which is more satisfying emotionally. Of immediate importance, however, is that it will inspire the millions of Africa with a sense of mission which is bound to change the course of history on the continent.

Crusader against imperialism

For centuries now the greatest weakness which has facilitated the ruin and humiliation of the African has been the absence of a unifying goal in working towards which every black man could feel that he was the brother and sister of the African oppressed for his race in every part of the continent. Without it there could be no co-ordination of the struggles for liberty in Africa, and without this co-ordination the race oppressor could do what he liked with the men and women of Africa."

The Conference is being organised by George Padmore, West Indian adviser to Dr. Nkrumah. Jordan Ngubane says of Padmore: "He has never forgotten the sufferings of the people in the continent

from which his ancestors came. Everywhere he has gone he has been an untiring crusader against imperialism. He has lectured widely in Europe and America and written books against race oppression, exhorting the peoples of the continent to stand together. That Ghana has given him the platform from which to start making his dreams come true is about the finest tribute that a grateful Africa can pay to a distinguished fighter for its emancipation."

Non-racial democracy

On the significance of the Conference, Mr. Ngubane writes:

"The exciting drama which events are unfolding in all this is of the greatest importance not only to black and white on the continent, but also to the world. As for the relations between ourselves and the white people, quite naturally, the Conference marks a turning point. The direction we take from here depends as much on what the white man does as on the goals the Conference will set itself.

"For our part we want a non-racial democracy in which every man and woman shall have the fullest opportunity to make the best possible use of their lives. For centuries we have known tribulation at the hands of the oppressor. This has aroused in us a deep-seated disgust for anything which attacks the dignity of the person.

'The world we want ...'

"Having known what this means we do not want to be reminded of it again, either by its continuation on the part of the white man or by our own deeds. Having been denied liberty for centuries, we are inspired by only one desire: to see a world in which all human beings shall find joy in seeing their fellowmen enjoying that freedom they want for themselves. And in giving reality to this freedom we are going to use the best in the wisdom of the East, the best in the civilisation of the West, and the best we have learnt in the centuries we have striven to uphold the dignity of Man, not to go back to the ditch where we shall, like the white man, waste our time and dig our grave by seeking to oppress any human being."

Jordan K. Ngubane warns against attempts to use the Conference as a platform for the advance of ideological interests, either for Communists or for those who would want to commit it to the "Africa for the Africans" slogan.

No passport for William Worthy

A FEDERAL Judge has upheld the decision of the US Secretary of State to refuse a passport to William Worthy, who entered Communist China in the winter of 1956-7 in defiance of a ban on travel in that country.

A reporter for the Afro-American, a Negro newspaper, and a frequent contributor to Peace News, William Worthy found his action supported by newspapers and newsmen, all over the US.

The New York Post welcomed his action as a blow for the freedom of the Press.



William Worthy

Senator Joseph O'Mahoney, reminded the State Department that the issue was "whether the American Press is entitled to send its accredited representatives to any area of the world in which the interests of the American people are at stake."

He told the Associated Press: "Mr. Worthy's reputation as a citizen is unsullied and the State Department owes him an apology."

Right to travel

I. F. Stone, another American journalist, has asked a law officer how the recent decision in the Worthy cases can be reconciled with a Supreme Court decision last June when the State Department were instructed to provide passports for Rockwell Kent and Dr. Walter Briebl.

"Oh," the official replied, "all the Court ruled in Kent and Briebl was that you couldn't refuse a man a passport because he's a Communist. That doesn't apply to Worthy. He's not a Communist."

I. F. Stone writes in his Weekly, by way of comment: "Take out a Communist party membership and thus make sure of getting a passport."

He goes on to appeal to newspapermen's associations to help the American Civil Liberties Union, which is fighting the Worthy case. He concludes by declaring:

"The right of a newspaperman to travel wherever he pleases is part of the people's right to be informed. That is why freedom of the Press was written into the First Amendment on the insistence of men like

Jefferson. The crisis over China policy vividly brings home to us again the living validity of their views.

"The State Department argues from other premises. 'The requirements of national security and interest,' it says, 'coupled with the delicate characteristics of our foreign relations with Communist China ... outweigh the rights which the plaintiff asserts under the First Amendment.' These are not the premises of a free society. They assert the right of the Department to make decisions of life and death but to keep Press and people from being fully informed about them."

FOOTNOTE: It was as a result of his visit to China that William Worthy was able to contribute the significant Peace News article on June 7, 1957, "China's Street Committees." He described the early stages of his passport struggle on Nov. 22, 1957, in "The Right to Travel."

Peace News is proud of the fact that many of its contributors have been in the forefront of the struggle for civil liberties and human rights. Now is a time when we can help William Worthy. Write to President Eisenhower at the White House, Washington, urging that a passport be granted to Worthy, a journalist of outstanding integrity.

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Pacifists and Labour

WE WERE GLAD to have the letters from Ron Huzzard and Lilian Mitchell on Peace News and the Labour Party Conference, and we associate ourselves with our contributor's expression of regret that the vote on Resolution 177 did not receive a mention.

These letters and the resolution, which we published last week, raise certain issues that we feel should be clarified.

We think that Ron Huzzard is probably right when he suggests that those voting for the Hull resolution were substantially the same as those voting for the resolution on unilateral nuclear disarmament, and that a majority of the votes were those of constituency party representatives.

We are aware that Mr. Gaitskell asked for the rejection of the Hull resolution on the grounds that it was pacifist. We find it puzzling that Mr. Gaitskell made this objection unless he did not want the Labour Party to be charged with the task of preparing a plan for the transfer of labour and resources from military to peaceful purposes (paragraph (c)), and used "pacifist" as an easy way of dismissing the resolution.

For there is nothing in paragraphs (a) and (b) that Mr. Gaitskell and the Labour Party Executive could not endorse. What they are seeking is "total disarmament" all round, but they reject the view that the unilateral abandonment of arms by Britain can be a means to this end.

Within the more limited area of nuclear disarmament, this is the reply of Mr. John Strachey to the advocates of unilateral action. "Scrap A.L.L. the H-bombs," he urges, thus seeking to get rid of the unilateral approach by urging the claims of total nuclear disarmament.

There is not merely a difference of degree in these two attitudes: they are two directly opposed attitudes to the problem. We believe that not only is the pacifist approach of unilateral action more realistic, but that the other approach—negotiated disarmament—is doomed to failure in the future as it has been in the past.

★ ★

WE are in agreement with much of Ron Huzzard's letter. We should greatly like to see the pacifist approach argued more often inside the Trade Unions, and we warmly appreciate the work that he himself has done in this field.

We also agree that it is little use advocating the unilateral nuclear disarmament of Britain if it is assumed that Britain will continue to play a part in power politics. The renunciation of the H-bomb must also mean the renunciation of power politics and all its instruments.

We believe that the resolution on nuclear weapons was superior to the Hull resolution because it advocated that Britain should take, unilaterally, a step of immense importance in the renunciation of armed power. The Hull resolution not only lends itself to interpretation in another sense, but is more reasonably interpreted in that sense.

This is a simple point but a very important one. Pacifists should be quite clear about it.

There is a very great readiness to mislead public opinion on this issue both by official Labour Party spokesmen and by Communists; Mr. Strachey's "Scrap A.L.L. the H-bombs" has its Communist counterpart in "Ban the Bomb." There is a supremely important difference between "Ban the Bomb" and "Renounce the Bomb."

★ ★

WE believe that there can only be progress towards total disarmament when some nation, which has been engaged in the power struggle, renounces that struggle and its weapons. We should like Britain to be that power.

Although we should prefer to see the total renunciation of A.L.L. weapons, we believe that the total renunciation of the H-bomb, with an equal renunciation of dependence on the US possession of the H-bomb, would so change the situation—because of the abandonment of the power struggle—that further disarmament would inevitably follow.

There is something we should like to add in this matter. When Sir Richard Acland, not a pacifist, declared himself in favour of the British renunciation of the H-bomb, he also said that if he were re-elected he would vote against its manufacture. We do not know if Sir Richard still holds this view. We are convinced, however, that the issue of war looms so heavily to-day over every other political question that his attitude, had he been returned, would have been of much greater importance than the traditional pacifist abstention on Parliamentary votes.

Fourth Arm or Little finger?

MANY thousands of pounds have recently been spent on great advertisements in the newspapers seeking recruits for Civil Defence work. All the money thus spent presumably comes out of the amount of £6,500,000 that, according to the military contributor of two important articles in "The Times" last week, is the amount that has this year been voted for Civil Defence. This total sum amounts to a trifle over 2s. 6d. per head of population, as compared with about £30 per head for general preparation for war; and it is evident that considerable inroads will be made into that 2s. 6d. by the extensive advertising.

As "The Times" correspondent remarks, the sum that has been voted is a mere token amount, and in any case "no Civil Defence system can guarantee to keep casualties down to an acceptable level." Presumably "The Times" correspondent is not in agreement with the framer of the advertisements that "millions who survive" out of a population of 50,000,000 can be regarded as an "acceptable" level.

It is quite evident that those who are responsible for the promotion of what is called Civil Defence have no belief in its efficacy as a means of saving life in a nuclear war. This trifle of 6½ millions is spent for the purpose—if one puts it kindly—of keeping up the public morale in the face of the threat we live under; if one puts it less kindly, it is for the purpose of misleading public opinion as to the real character of nuclear war.

Its real character was briefly indicated by an American atomic scientist, Leo Seren, writing recently in the Christian Century. We have learned, he wrote, from bits of information given about the US Strategic Air Force, that "if the three words 'Activate plan A' are ever spoken into a certain crimson telephone at SAC headquarters, over three hundred B52 bombers will take to the sky, carrying 20-megaton nuclear bombs to the enemy. In a matter of hours, boasts the SAC, 50 million Russians will be killed."

And not from the SAC, but from other sources, remarks Mr. Seren, it may be learned that "when the tumult subsides this planet of ours will be an irrevocable inferno of radio-active debris."

Presumably the Russian Government has its own equivalent to "plan A." When exponents of Civil Defence begin their explanations of what can be done by a candid description of the real character of the preparations that are being made for our common destruction, and discard their favourite suggestion that what is likely to have to be dealt with is a single bomb falling 16 miles away it will be possible to believe that they have some genuine belief in what they are advocating.

Blackpool brutality

THE members of the League of Empire Loyalists are, quite independently of their views, an irritating set of people. We suppose they do hold public meetings sometimes to state their own views, but we do not remember ever having seen an announcement of one, and we have also never seen set out a consecutive statement of their policy.

They must spend a good deal of money in sending their representatives about the country with a view to interrupting the proceedings of those who do adopt more positive methods of expounding their views, and presumably they have not sufficient left over to take the same course themselves.

Because of this, the best opportunity one has of forming an opinion on their views is by drawing inferences from the things they object to: and so far as we are able to make out their policy would seem to be the traditional Beaverbrookism as it used to be expounded in the Daily Express.

It is therefore all the more surprising that neither the Daily Express nor the Sunday Express paid any attention to the allegations of brutal treatment meted out to the interrupters at the Conservative Party Conference rally at Blackpool. If the accounts given by observers and by those who were roughly handled are to be credited, something of the disgusting violence that was the mark of the notorious British Fascist meetings before the war was in evidence there, although not of course on a similar scale.

Mr. Donald Griffin, who seems to take a considerable share in this kind of "Empire Loyalist" activity, was the principal sufferer from the uncontrolled rage of members of this Tory audience, and if the statements made by the League's officials are true he was, while being subjected to much other brutal treatment, the victim of a painful sexual outrage for which a Tory woman was responsible.

It has been announced that the Conservative Party is to conduct its own enquiry into this business. We hope it will make it an honest enquiry, and be candid in its report on what took place.

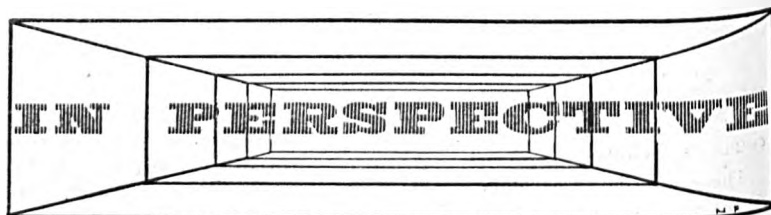
If it finds that the shocking allegations that have been made can be justified it will do well to say so; and by its condemnation help to keep British political life free from a reversion to the Fascist brutality that at one time threatened it.

To deplore what was done against these people at Blackpool is of course not to condone their methods, which seem to us to be not only silly and irresponsible, but to be themselves an example of a tendency to substitute methods of unreason for the rational advocacy of ideas.

Hope for Algeria

AFTER our comment on the interview given by M. Ferhat Abbas had been written last week there came the very important instruction given by General de Gaulle to the French Army in Algiers. If this instruction is genuinely carried out—and it remains to be seen whether this will be possible—the forthcoming election will be of a completely different type from what has gone before in Algeria.

The Algerian settlers have been used to rigging the elections in such a way that only candidates acceptable to themselves could be returned. The Muslims who have been permitted to be elected have been what the Algerians call the "beni-oui-oui," the tame yes-men who are ready to act as their French mentors desire. If, in addition to separating the army from the "colons," de Gaulle really succeeds in making it the custodian of



some degree of fair treatment in the election it may have very important consequences.

Not the least important of de Gaulle's instructions was that which required that there should be the free circulation of newspapers in Algeria so long as their contents are not susceptible to legal action under French law. Only the day before this order was published the Algerian supply of an edition of Le Monde that could freely circulate in France was confiscated. If this instruction is honestly acted upon many of the suppressions that took place under M. Mollet, not only in Algeria, but in France also—and with his endorsement—can take place no longer.

M. Ferhat Abbas, the Prime Minister of the Algerian "government in exile" has made further statements in confirmation of his desire to talk, without pre-conditions, with the representatives of the French Government. Should it prove possible for the election in Algeria to represent anything like a free expression of the views of the Algerian people an early opportunity should arise for the bringing of the present destructive relationship to an end.

Lebanon and Jordan

THE evacuation of US troops from Lebanon, and of British troops from Jordan, brings the end of a chapter in Western policy which has done nothing to raise the credit of the two Governments either for a sense of world justice or for political wisdom.

Only one person emerges with enhanced reputation: Secretary-General Hammarskjöld of the United Nations, who has succeeded by endless patience and a great deal of ingenuity in bringing about the withdrawal of these troops without glaring loss of face for America and Britain which might well have resulted from the hight-handed precipitancy.

But the situation they now leave behind them in the two countries is far from satisfactory. In the Lebanon there is unrest which extends beyond the political sphere; and in Jordan, King Hussein's régime remains as uncertain, not to say tottering, as before.

These dangerous elements in the Middle Eastern situation might be diminished through the check of President Nasser's life-long ambitions, presented by the dispute with Tunisia, but here there is another snag: President Bourguiba's internal position is not as strong as it might be, and for this he must blame his own policy.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of his accusation against Egypt may be, that Cairo had encouraged a murder plot against him, he is not likely to succeed for long in the circus trick of riding the two horses of pro-Westernism and of loyal support for the Algerian rebellion, which the whole Arab world looks upon as a plain war for liberation.

Quemoy

THE renewal of the bombardment of Quemoy is to be deplored. It means a resumption of active hostilities just when it had looked as if there might be a beginning to the end of the warfare between Chiang Kai-shek and the Republic of China. It is also to be deplored, because at a moment when it is all important that the deep distrust between the US and the Republic of China should give way to a mutual understanding, the two Governments find themselves in flat contradiction on a matter of fact.

The Chinese claim that US vessels have invaded their territorial waters implies a belief that American escorts of Formosan vessels to Quemoy has been resumed. The Americans deny this flatly and emphatically.

What's behind the Bourguiba-Nasser row?



By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

Cairo, where recently an exiled rebel government of Algeria was established.

Break with Arab League

I was surprised when, a few weeks ago, Bourguiba's Government decided to join the Arab League. I welcomed the decision, because I believed that Tunisia might balance some tendencies towards the Eastern bloc and exert an influence towards liberal democracy in the Arab Union and other Middle East countries.

There was also another hope, dear to my heart, to which I clung. Tunisia above all Arab countries has shown friendship towards the Jewish people. Jews belong to Neo Destour and the UGTT and Bourguiba's Government includes a Jew. A Jewish-sponsored medical service has been invited by the Government to become responsible for a wide Arab area. I hoped that Tunisia within the Arab League might contribute towards a solution of the Arab-Israel conflict.

The withdrawal of Tunisia from the League may have widening effects. Apparently her delegate was in a minority of one in the Executive of the League, but both Morocco and the Sudan are near to Tunisia in outlook, and it remains to be seen whether they will maintain their association with the League.

The position in Algeria must also have been affected. The rebel Algerian Government, under M. Ferhat Abbas, has in very reasonable terms offered negotiations with France for a cease-fire. M. Ferhat Abbas has been in doubt whether to transfer the Government to Tunisia. His offer of negotiations would now obviously have more chance of success from Tunis than from Cairo.

De Gaulle and Algeria

There must also be a definite reaction in France itself. General de Gaulle's instruction to the Army to keep out of the elections and his insistence upon free conditions for the electoral campaign (though the application of these will be difficult) have created an atmosphere which may lead eventually to negotiations. He may now regard Tunisia as a bridge to agreement rather than, as in the past, a source of support to the rebels.

These factors are mixed and those of us who support neutralism, liberal democracy and national independence must await events before coming to final conclusions. Arab unity, extending from the Middle East and across North Africa, has been welcomed by us and we must deplore the breach. It must be some time, however, before one can judge on which side the progressive development of North Africa will most decisively be found.

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WHAT is behind the breach in the North African Front, the cutting of diplomatic relations between Tunisia and the United Arab Republic, the antagonism between President Bourguiba and Colonel Nasser?

The breach does not reflect a temporary explosive incident. There is a deeper and longer-lasting difference.

President Bourguiba belongs by upbringing, his life and philosophy, to the West. Meeting him one feels he is a Western statesman, at home in manners and technique with anyone from the British Foreign Office and the Washington State Department.

Exiled to free Tunisia

I do not write this in a derogatory sense. Habib Bourguiba has proved his devotion to Tunisian freedom by years of imprisonment. He has also proved an extraordinary willingness to subordinate himself to his country's welfare.

There was the remarkable occasion when Mendes-France was prepared to grant Tunisia noteworthy concessions, but only at the price of Bourguiba remaining in exiled detention. Habib's friends were indignant. They were in the mood to reject the offer. But Bourguiba saw further: he saw that the concessions made the essential difference between subjection and liberty, that they could lead to Tunisian independence if used

wisely. He told his colleagues to accept them despite his own fate.

How right he proved! Tunisian independence came. Habib was released to become President.

Bourguiba's identity with Western life led him to adopt another realistic tactic which increasingly divided him from Arab sentiment in Egypt and the Middle East. When a deadlock was reached with Paris, before the premiership of Mendes-France, he deliberately wooed America. He went to Washington. He won friends by his personal qualities. He gained political support by his opposition to Communist dictatorship. America wanted to win over the Arab world—and influenced France towards a recognition of Tunisia's claims.

At that time the Arab peoples generally were looking towards America. Financial aid had been promised to the Aswan Dam, that great project which could have brought well-being to many thousands of Egypt's poverty-bound peasants. America, desiring air bases in Morocco, was urging France towards a more conciliatory policy towards the Sultan, exiled in Madagascar, and to the independence claims of Istiqlal.

Foiled assassin in Cairo

Even as recently as the British-French invasion of the Suez Canal there was Arab appreciation of America's opposition to that ill-fated venture. It was only when Russia offered economic aid and arms to Egypt,

which America and the West withheld, that the Arab Middle East made its break with the West and adopted its policy of "positive neutralism" between the two Power blocs.

Bourguiba did not concur. He belonged in mind to the West. America and Britain continued to provide Tunisia with token supplies of arms, despite the displeasure of France.

Bourguiba did not carry all Tunisia with him in his pro-Western attitude. Ben Youssef, the secretary of his Party, the Neo Destour (a national front with everyone in it) opposed the acceptance of the Mendes-France concessions, was alleged to have planned the assassination of Bourguiba, and fled to Cairo. The support which Egypt is believed to have given Ben Youssef is one of the reasons why Bourguiba has broken with Cairo.

The powerful Trade Union movement in Tunisia, the UGTT, had also endorsed the attitude of neutrality between West and East. The strong solidarity of the Tunisian people with the Algerian rebellion had also turned opinion against the West towards

NUCLEAR WAR BY ACCIDENT

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

A 25ft. "Polaris" naval missile "accidentally" took off from America's rocket range at Cape Canaveral on Oct. 15. It was destroyed on the range. News item.

THERE are three possible ways that an accidental nuclear war could start, writes Carl Dreher in an article in the September 15 issue of the American weekly "The Nation."

The ways are 1, so-called "catalytic" war and its variants; 2, technological mishaps and inadequacies; 3, psychological and personnel hazards.

A catalytic war could be started by nations which had little or no nuclear armaments. Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa or Syngman Rhee in South Korea could manoeuvre the Americans into a position where a nuclear war was inevitable.

TECHNOLOGICAL MISHAPS

The recent incident at Calder Hall shows how accidents could happen. But if they can happen in a place that is designed for safety, what might happen in the case of weapons whose main purpose is destructive?

If eight Nikes—short-range anti-aircraft missiles with TNT warheads—could explode for no ascertainable reason at a base in New Jersey, scattering the warheads over a radius of three miles and killing ten people, inter-continental ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads can go off in the NATO or Warsaw Pact countries and land in "enemy" territory. There will be no time to explain the "mistake" to the enemy.

Mistakes of this kind are all the more likely to happen because of the tremendous rate of technical development. Writing in the Air University Quarterly Review, the Assistant Chief of Staff for Guided Missiles USAF said: "It is significant that for the first time we are engaged in detailed operational planning for a weapon system that has not yet emerged from the development stage . . . with very preliminary data we must begin to integrate ballistic missiles into the existing Air Force command and control structure . . ."

It remains to be seen how far this premature integration will be successful, comments Dreher.

Discussing radar, Dreher writes, it is one of the key instruments in defence. But nearly all resources have gone into getting more lethal weapons to fling at the enemy than the enemy can throw back.

A series of articles in the Electronic Week have shown the weaknesses of the American radar net-work. It cannot detect ICBM's flying faster than two or three times the speed of sound; and even in the absence of jamming it cannot distinguish between missiles and meteors or electrical noise.

A related difficulty is the problem of who shall give the final order. At present the responsibility lies with the President of the United States.

But look at the position of an officer in charge somewhere in Britain, Turkey or the Netherlands. Facing his battery there is a battery of Russian IRBM's. Connected by a communications channel, there is a long range radar, the eye of the missile installation. A technician briefly sees a blip, a spot of light on the radar scope. Long before the technician can summon an expert the spot is gone. Was it a Russian IRBM flying west?

If it was a Russian IRBM, the launching installation of which he is a part may be blown skyhigh in ten minutes. To launch or not to launch? Is the major who didn't see the spot on the screen now to go up all the way through the chain of command to President Eisenhower? And is the President to go down again through the chain and order the major to launch his missiles and perhaps start a gratuitous nuclear war, or to wait and perhaps be obliterated?

UNBALANCED COMMANDERS

The other great danger is unbalanced people in positions of command, writes Dreher.

"It is a known fact that there are several million psychologically unbalanced people in the US," the Soviet Army paper Red Star asserts. Are there none in the Red Army? The Communist psychotics may be more dangerous. At least in the United States one is permitted to be nervous; in some circles one is actually considered a little queer if one sleeps without barbiturates, gets through the day without tranquillisers, or makes love without alcohol. In the Soviet Union such human weaknesses, aggravated by the tensions of a

high-pressure industrial culture, are regarded as bordering on the counter-revolutionary.

Unless we can take very stringent action against the occurrence of such disorders in the men in command, the likelihood of a war starting by accident is high.

PRESENT DANGERS

The dangers we are running at the moment and the dangers we are likely to meet in the future are well illustrated by the following quotation from an article in the American magazine Missiles and Rockets, "The Strategic Air Command still provides the United States with an overwhelming retaliatory ability over the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, according to Pentagon experts. . . . Numerous and continuing SAC flights over the sovereign territory of the USSR demonstrate this. . . . Their (SAC) aircraft continue to fly over the Soviet Union with a relative degree of immunity."

"It is true that modern Russian fighters attack our bombers with major advantages of altitude, speed and manoeuvrability. It is also true that they score some hits. But so far no attacks have been made by the Russians with missiles, either because they don't have any anti-aircraft missiles or because the Reds don't want to tip their hand."

"In any case, US radar and photographic missions over the Russian land mass continue with a fair degree of success and immunity. . . . Two years hence, however, it is a safe assumption that the Reds will have both our cities and our bases zeroed in with ICBM's, that they will be able to destroy, and that because of their capability then with anti-aircraft missiles our retaliatory capacity will be seriously diminished."

By 1960 our retaliatory capacity will be seriously diminished! It is not clear why, since we are developing long-range missiles at top speed. But some may think so, more or less wishfully. They may even have the excuse of self-delusion. The ambiguities of radar will still afford numerous opportunities for honest as well as calculated errors.

Such is the timetable, concludes Dreher: "It would be interesting to know whether the high controllers are reckoning with the arrivals and departures the timetable may foretell."

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Any Questions

answered by a

PEACE NEWS panel

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Alan Lovell, Michael Randle,

J. Allen Skinner,

Question Master: Hugh Brock

Owen Hall, Union Road, Farnham

Saturday, Oct., 25. at 7.30 p.m.

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TOLSTOY LIVES ON

A VISIT TO HIS HOME

By K. J. TARASOFF

THE visit to Tolstoy's home, Yasnaya Polyana, some four hours' drive from Moscow, was an inspiring experience for me. Although Leo N. Tolstoy died on October 24, 1910, this estate is well preserved, thanks to the government order of 1921 to take over the estate as a museum.

In one room we see where his wife Sophia re-wrote many of Tolstoy's works from seven to 30 times—a reflection to the exactness of his writings. Then into the Cabinet Room where Tolstoy did most of his work. Here he read papers and newspapers from all parts of the world and consequently was in touch with many streams of thought.

Working late into the night was a regular Tolstoyan practice. In his bedroom we note the hard bed where he worked late into the evening. When he got cold he would put a wool-throw over his shoulders and then would continue writing.

Library of 23,000 books

Tolstoy's personal library was our next stop. His collection of 23,000 books includes his father's collection, his own works and gifts from his many friends—all this is indexed in a catalogue in Russian, English and French. During his lifetime Tolstoy acquired the knowledge of some 13 languages. It is known that when he received a book which was in a language foreign to him Tolstoy would take two and a half months to learn the language and thus be able to read the book.

As creative as his mind was, Tolstoy did

not neglect the old Greek virtue of a balance of mind and body. He liked to be physically fit—hence he learned to be a skilled gymnast and did a lot of walking throughout his life. In good weather he walked ten kilometres regularly and frequently walked to Moscow. Furthermore, Tolstoy loved the common people, and often liked to get lost on the road and talk



with simple beggars—no doubt themes and characters for many of his stories were acquired here. As for physical work—he loved it. He loved to go into the field and help the peasants.

Tolstoy's views on "higher religion" brought him respect from writers and statesmen alike, including Chekhov and Lenin. Even when he criticised the abuses of the Orthodox Church—and for this he was excommunicated—the people loved him even more. For Tolstoy did not criticise for the sake of criticising, but rather he criticised for the sake of improving the social order.

Museum in Moscow

When a religious group of Doukhobors were persecuted by the Czarist regime in 1895, Tolstoy wrote "Resurrection," and used the funds to help the emigration of some 7,400 of the group to Canada.

Near the end of his life Tolstoy further pursued his religious beliefs with the result that he gave up his estate to the peasants. He went to the Caucasus, got a cold, was weakened, and soon died. Some 400,000 people came to his funeral. He was buried in a simple grave on his estate; this he had requested before his death.

Yes, Tolstoy died—but his works live. Valantine Bulhakoff, director of the library section of Yasnaya Polyana, told me that 90 volumes are currently being completed in memory of this writer. (These volumes include criticisms of the Church and State, letters to various writers and individuals—in fact, everything that he wrote.) A museum in Moscow as well as monuments further give evidence of praise to a man who had a high regard for all his fellow beings.

On State and Fatherland

Gavrila, a soldier in the Reserve, a servant. Misha, his master's young son.

GAVRILA: Good-bye, Mishenka, my dear little master. Who knows whether God will permit me to see you again?

MISHA: Are you really leaving?

GAVRILA: I have to. There is war again; and I am in the Reserve.

MISHA: A war with whom? Who's fighting, and who are they fighting against?

GAVRILA: God knows. It's very difficult to understand all that. I have read about it in the papers, but I can't make it out. They say that someone in Austria has a grudge against us because of some favour he did to what's-their names...

MISHA: But what are you fighting for?

GAVRILA: I am fighting for the Tsar, of course; for my country and the Orthodox Faith.

MISHA: But you don't wish to go to the war, do you?

GAVRILA: Certainly not. To leave my wife and children... Do you suppose I would leave this happy life of my own free will?

MISHA: Then why do you go? Tell them you don't want to, and stop here. What can they do to you?

GAVRILA: What can they do? They will take me by force.

MISHA: Who will take you by force?

GAVRILA: Men who have to obey, and who are exactly in my position.

MISHA: Why will they take you by force if they are in the same position?

GAVRILA: Because of the authorities. They will be ordered to take me, and they will have to do it.

MISHA: But suppose they don't want to?

GAVRILA: They have to obey.

MISHA: But why?

GAVRILA: Why? Because of the law.

MISHA: What law?

GAVRILA: You are a funny boy. It's a pleasure to chat with you. But now I had better go and get the samovar ready. It will be for the last time.

—From "The Wisdom of Children,"

by Count Leo Tolstoy.

Ahimsa gains ground the world over

IT is fascinating to consider how the idea of Ahimsa (non-violent resistance to evil and injustice) has travelled and developed in the world. It seems to have originated among the old forest sages of India some time before the Upanishads were written, maybe 1,500 to 2,000 BC.

Buddha took it up and elaborated and emphasised it around 500 B.C. With the other Buddhist ideas it travelled to Ceylon, Nepal, China, Japan, Tibet and Indonesia. Of its adventures in those lands I do not know much, but we do know something about its more recent travels.

In the late 1700s or early 1800s some of the Hindu and Buddhist scriptures were translated into English and were published. Some of these books were taken to the United States, a full 10,000 miles away from India.

In the late 1900s a Professor Carpenter, then teaching English at Harvard University, was writing a book on the influence of Oriental thought on the two famous American writers, Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Professor Carpenter told me that after he had tracked down all the specific references to Hindu or Buddhist ideas in the writings of these two men, it occurred to him that possibly, by a slender chance, there might still be a record in the Library of Harvard University of what books, if any, Thoreau or Emerson had borrowed from that library nearly 100 years previously.

Direct connection

The town of Concord, Massachusetts, where they lived, is about 20 miles from Cambridge, Massachusetts, where that library is situated. With but faint hope he inquired as to this at the Harvard University Library, and found to his great surprise and satisfaction that the record of the book

borrowings of those two men was still preserved.

He found that they had both borrowed, and kept for several weeks at a time, translations into English of the Bhagavad Gita, some of the Upanishads and some of the Puranas.

Thus he conclusively showed a definite direct connection between the readings of those two men and their subsequent writings. I have been told that later some of those translations became the property of Emerson and maybe of Thoreau.

They not only read such books; they digested and mentally assimilated the ideas contained in them. Later Thoreau wrote and spoke against the iniquity of the US

Government making war on Mexico. He refused to pay taxes levied by such a government, and was put in jail for his principles. Then he wrote a famous essay entitled "The Virtue of Civil Disobedience."

Some decades later someone in America or England sent a copy of that essay to Tolstoy who, as everyone knows, had written powerfully on the idea of non-violence in his essays on the real meaning of Christ's teachings. Thus the idea of ahimsa made another journey, back across the Atlantic Ocean and across Europe to Russia.

At that time Tolstoy was in correspondence with Gandhi then in South Africa, and sent him Thoreau's essay on "The Virtue of Civil Disobedience." Gandhi was delighted with it. His mind and heart, steeped in Hindu and Jain ideas, were fertile ground for the new form of the idea of ahimsa.

He adopted the phrase "Civil Disobedience" and used it in both his South African

and Indian struggles against injustice. Thus the idea of ahimsa in a new form made another journey across space and time to South Africa and thence back to India, the land of its birth.

It is interesting to note that each time the idea has leaped over space and time it has become developed, elaborated and more fully organised. It has become more practical. Gandhi took what had formerly been an idea for use only by individuals and organised it and made it capable of use by large numbers of people together, provided they had voluntarily been disciplined in its preconditions.

The story of Gandhi's great success with it has now gone all over the world. The detailed description of how and why it

By RICHARD B. GREGG

works both between individuals and on a mass scale is now in all the continents. Many tens of thousands of people have read and pondered on them.

The Prime Minister of Ghana, Nkrumah, learned about Gandhi's use of this idea when he studied at Lincoln University in the US. He used it in his country's struggle against British political control. As you know, that struggle was successful. He is eager to have the idea used by many other African people to help them to win their freedom.

Montgomery Negroes

In the US several thousand Negroes in the city of Montgomery, Alabama, under the leadership of Rev. Martin Luther King, a Negro, have been successful in a prolonged, non-violent boycott to end racial discrimination against passengers on a local bus line. They knew of Gandhi's ideas, and consciously and deliberately applied them. Among Negroes in the Southern States of

the USA there are now many groups studying Gandhi's method of Satyagraha.

The ideas have now gone all over the world and have been or will be tried out in all the continents. It will be tested and experimented within many different conditions and surroundings, with fresh implications, results and discoveries. I think it is highly inspiring and hopeful to realise all this.

Idea is put to work

After the death of Jesus Christ, who also taught this idea for individual use, it was many decades before the idea was applied by members of the Christian community in their struggle against the Roman Government and then only by individuals. But now, only eight years after Gandhi's death, the idea is being put to work successfully.

In the book called "Adventures of Ideas" by the famous English philosopher, A. N. Whitehead, there are several pages telling how long it often takes for an idea to be accepted, organised and made effective and useful to society. Some mathematical ideas, for example, took from 1,000 to 15,000 years to become effective and to come into common use.

Perhaps the greater the idea, the longer it took to mature and become fruitful. But nowadays, as a result of the tremendous increase in the speed of transport and communications of all kinds and the wholesale printing and distribution of books, all social processes have speed up enormously.

This increased speed of social processes means that this great idea of ahimsa, non-violent resistance to evil and injustice, will become widely effective sooner than many people realise. So if an atomic war can be avoided there is great hope for the world. Let no one be discouraged about this idea of ahimsa and Satyagraha.—From *The Sunday Standard* reprinted in *Sarvodaya*.

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MEETINGS

NUCLEAR Disarmament. Lecture by Mrs. P. Darvell at Robert Crosbie House, 62 Queen's Gdns., W.2. (Pad 0688) Friday Nov. 7, 8.30 p.m. Free. All welcome.

HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District, Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with views of fells.—Isabel James, Telephone: Grasmere 334.

RECUVER LODGE, BELTINGE, Kent. Join our Christmas house-party. Vegetarians especially welcome. Bookings being taken for 1959. Box 800.

ACCOMMODATION

HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food for visitors and permanent guests. CANONBURY 1340. Telke Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

PERSONAL

COMMUNITY LIVING. Social experiment. Applicants grouped auspiciously, then find own houses test own ideas. Later compare notes, evolving full, happy life. Cooper, 54 Hillfield Rd., London N.W.6.

GOING ABOARD? Maintain, advocate and urge liberty of freedom to travel without vaccination, invoke Clause 83 International Sanitary Regulations. Enquire, and/or send donation, National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

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INTRODUCTIONS. FRIENDSHIP or marriage; home and overseas. V.C.C., 34 Honeywell Rd., London, S.W.11.

VEGETARIAN PACIFIST; bachelor American, age 29, both merry and quiet-natured; with music, reading, travel, photography, among quite varied interests. Seeks to contact by correspondence or in person, in America or abroad; lady age 18 to 30, vegetarian or sympathetic, with view to marriage. Please answer in first instance with photo to Box 799. All letters replied to in confidence.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRL, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middx.

LITERATURE

"IT MUST BE PEACE"—the new statement issued by the Labour Peace Fellowship is obtainable from the General Secretary, Denis Brian, 24a Breakspears Road, London, S.E.4.

"LIBERTE," the French pacifist weekly, 36s. a year, 20s. 6 months. (US \$5 seamount, \$10 airmail, a year) from Housemans (Peace News bookshop), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Ctee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London N.W.1.

FOR SALE

BIRTHDAY SUBSCRIPTIONS: Solve the present problem by giving your friends a subscription to PEACE NEWS. Eight weeks' introductory postal subscription 2s. 6d. Birthday card 6d. extra. Subscription Dept., Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PEACE DIARY for 1959 now available, with 32 page World Directory of Peace Organisations and Periodicals. 3s. 6d. (postage 4d.) from Endsleigh Cards (Peace News Ltd.), 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. (Full Christmas List available).

WHAT ARE YOUR commercial and personal stationery needs? HOUSEMANS STATIONERY DEPT. can deal with them. Plain postcards, 2s. 10d. per 100; white envelopes 6 x 3 1/2 ins., 21s. per 1,000 box; manilla, 14s. 6d. per 1,000 box; white bank paper 10 x 8 ins., 9s. per 500 sheets; newswrappers 10 x 5 1/2 ins., 19s. per 1,000, 2s. 3d. per 100; plain economy labels 4 1/2 x 3 1/2 ins., 14s. 6d. per 1,000, 1s. 8d. per 100. All post free. Harley Bond Writing Pads, etc., from 6d. each, postage extra. All profits to Peace News. Write or call HOUSEMANS STATIONERY DEPT., 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE IS OPEN up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed. (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 2 Blackstock Rd. (above Fish and Cook, stationers). Finsbury Park (near sta.), N.4.

Every week!

SUNDAYS

BRADFORD: 8.15 p.m. Broadway Car Park. Open air meeting. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workshops. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THE CHURCH IN THE BOOKSHOP

The Drama of the West
Indians in the Big City
BLACK AND WHITE
IN
HARMONY
Clifford S. Hill

Trevor Huddleston, C.R. writes:
"The so-called 'colour problem' has come to England... time is shorter than we think. For God's sake read this book."

4/6 net

HODDER & STOUGHTON

DIARY PN readers have their say

Economic vulnerability

THERE can be no doubt as to the urgency of the need for an end to both nuclear tests and nuclear armaments. But there is a disturbing question in my mind that you have now brought up, indirectly, in this week's PN.

On you editorial page in one place you refer to American economic reaction to Greece's suggestion of the possibility of her leaving NATO over Cyprus. In another you write of Britain's disadvantageous and dependent relationship to the USA, comparing the British Government's inability to influence the US Government over Formosa with the latter's power to influence the former over Suez.

As I understand it, CND clearly aim for unilateral action by this country on the political level. May we assume, for the purposes of my question, that the necessary public opinion has been enlisted and that the Government are about to stop their nuclear tests, disarm nuclear-wise, and get rid of all US nuclear installations in this country?

Having in mind our economic position and the attitude towards their standard of living of most people in this country, may I be enlightened, please (by anyone who cares to do so), as to probable US reaction, especially in the economic field, and to what extent we might be able to defy or ignore it?—**GEOFFREY GOODWIN, Hedgehog House, Pant, Oswestry, Shropshire.**

Labour Party Conference

FURTHER to the letters of Ron Huzzard and Lilian Mitchell regarding the resolution on Disarmament moved by Violet Mitchell, Chairman of the Hull PPU, I would like to say how encouraging it was to find such a good vote for total disarmament at the Labour Party Conference.

There is obviously a great deal of support for this policy in the Constituency Labour Parties, which is shown by the number of parties affiliating to the Labour Peace Fellowship, and it is now up to pacifists inside the Labour Movement to use their influence inside the trade unions.

The Labour Peace Fellowship is carrying out an intensive campaign to urge members of the Labour Party and trade unions to support efforts to a new peace policy, and to that end the Fellowship has issued a new pamphlet "It Must Be Peace," and readers who would like copies for distribution should write to me at once.—**DENNIS BRIAN, Labour Peace Fellowship, 24a, Breakspears Rd., London, S.E.4.**

Fall-out on plants

WE are, as you know, investigating the effects of fall-out dust on plants and have considerable evidence of a rise in certain abnormalities which are roughly a vegetable equivalent to bone cancer.

On October 5 two Canadian members were prospecting for Uranium in Ontario when their Geiger counters "went hay-

wire," but instead of a rich strike they found that the source of radio activity was the tips of the young shoots, 4-5 feet to the ground of some acres of wild raspberries.

It is known that grasses in Wales have concentrated Strontium 90 along the line of the West-East fall-out belts from nuclear tests, and the position of the radio-activity source in growing tips shows that these raspberries have probably taken a fall-out substance from the air. If this is so we have a cheap and simple measuring rod for the tracking of these belts, in raspberries, wild or cultivated.

As the recent UN report on fall-out reveals, nuclear weapons and power (especially in the aspect of the disposal of wastes) are the only branches of applied science where safety factors are a matter of guesses, repeatedly revised when their inaccuracy can no longer be concealed. To gather the evidence of the world's raspberries for the sake of the children of the future in all countries, and to force the need for research on the politicians of three nations, needs money.

Not only for postage and clerical work to organise an army of voluntary workers, but for Geiger counters, for scientific evidence is more important than petitions. For the cost of a Moon Rocket the gamble with bone cancer, leukaemia and genetical dangers could be ended. We do not know, but we in Britain share the guilt of risking the babies of Eskimos, Anadaman Islanders, Indians and all the other races in the world with no responsibility for nuclear weapons.—**LAWRENCE D. HILLIS, Hon. Secretary, Henry Doubleday Research Association, Bocking, Braintree, Essex.**

Labour's bomb

FENNEN BROCKWAY'S attempt to whitewash the Labour Party is not amusing.

If Brockway believes that the party has moved from Right to Left, he has mistaken Right for Left. More than 5,000,000 members of the Labour Party uphold the manufacture and use of the H-bomb (the wholesale slaughter of children) and only 850,000 oppose it. What a beautiful exhibition of Leftism!

Brockway knows that he is writing claptrap when he states that "Nye left the way open for a Labour Government to decide one way or the other," for he is aware that Bevan has stated that he cannot go into the conference chamber without the bomb. The bomb is his only argument: without it he feels naked.

It is true, as Brockway says, that the party is united—united in sin. Let the Left-wingers and Pacifists of the Labour Party face the gruesome fact that the united party accepts the wholesale slaughter of children by H-bombs as a permissible activity. They have done it twice at Hiroshima and Nagasaki: they are preparing to do it again—to save their souls from Communism! What a joke!—**F. O'HANLON, St. Michael's, Hayling Rise, Worthing.**

Across the Thames pacifists raised £30 10s. 6d. at a Bazaar held in the Wanstead Friends' Meeting House.

In the north of England, Sheffield enthusiasts hope to raise at least £10 at a Jumble Sale in Heeley Friends' Meeting House, Prospect Road, tomorrow, Saturday, at 3 o'clock. This is a trial run for Sheffield PPU-ers, who will hold a Christmas Fair in the Victoria Hall, Sheffield, on November 29. The god use to which they put the money they raise is indicated by a decision to retain the showing of ten Peace News' posters on hoardings in the city for an indefinite period.

They feel that the posters, which include the slogan "Read the Pacifist Point of View," are good propaganda and well worth the cost of 9d. a week. The secretary has asked all members of this influential and go-ahead Sheffield Group to let him know if they contact a sympathetic newsgent who will display a Peace News' poster.

POSTSCRIPT.—Not all the goods will be jumble at the Jumble Sale. Endsleigh Christmas Cards will be prominently displayed, fund-raisers both for Peace News and the Group showing them.

People

ALDOUS HUXLEY is to appear on the BBC Television Brains Trust on Sunday, Oct. 26.

J. B. Priestley will appear that day, too, in a BBC Television programme about his home city of Bradford.

To-morrow (Saturday) Frank Merrick plays Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto, with the Modern Symphony Orchestra, at a concert to be given at 7.30 p.m. at the Northern Polytechnic Theatre in North London.

Money-raisers

THE Surrey Area of the Peace Pledge Union have sent £20 to Peace News as part of the proceeds of their Annual Social held at Croydon recently. They were also able to send twenty-one guineas to the Peace Pledge Union and £3 to the War Resisters International.



Friday, October 24
ALTON: 7.30 p.m. "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. Speaker on Race Relations from Friends Service Council. Young Peacekeepers.

BIRMINGHAM: 2: 10.30 a.m. and 1.30 p.m. Chamber of Commerce, 95 New St. CO Tribunal.

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. 20 Glenwood Rd., Henleaze. Will Parkin: UN as peacemaker. PPU.

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m. Central Hall. Frank Allaun, M.P., and Ritchie Calder. CND.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Central Hall, Oldham St. Rededication Service conducted by Rev. George Dolbey. FoR.

MANCHESTER: 7.15 p.m. Friends' Mtg. Hse., FoR Rededication Service. Rev. W. Hargreaves Wragg and Rev. W. Verrinder.

Saturday, October 25
FARNHAM: 7.30 p.m. Owen Hall, Union Rd. "Any Questions?" answered by Peace News team: Terence Chivers, Chris. Farley, Alan Lovell, Michael Randle, Allen Skinner. Chair: Hugh Brook. PPU.

LANCASTER: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse. PPU Lakeland Area Meeting. Speaker: Stuart Morris.

LONDON, S.E.6: 7 p.m. Davenport Hall, Davenport Rd., Social evening, films, music. Tickets 1s. from J. H. Haynes, 14 Malyns Terr., S.E. 13. CND.

MANCHESTER: CND NW Reg. Conf. Lesser Free Trade Hall, Peter St. 2.30-5 p.m. Private Session (Groups req. representation apply 14 Tib Lane, Manchester 2). 6.30-9 p.m. Public Session. Ritchie Calder, Amabel Williams-Ellis. Chair: Lord Simon.

SHEFFIELD: 3 p.m. Heeley Friends, Prospect Rd., Jumble Sale. PPU.

Sunday, October 26
EDINBURGH: 7.30 p.m., 8 Darnaway St., Stuart Morris "My Talk with Khrushchev." PPU.

GLASGOW: 3 p.m. St. Andrews Hall. "Challenge of H-bomb" Sir Richard Acland, James Robertson Justice, Stuart Morris CND.

GLASGOW: 6.30 p.m. Stuart Morris preaching at Cliford Macquarie's Church, Trinity Cong.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, 37 Tavistock Sq. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse Rev. Jack Austin "Combating the Three Fires."

Monday, October 27
BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Room 4, Friends Mtg. Hse., Bull St., Rededication Service led by Dr. William Robinson. FoR.

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Rev. Alan Knott on Apartheid. PPU.

EDINBURGH: 7.30 p.m. St. Stuart Morris "My Talk with Khrushchev." PPU.

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Hse., Ebury Bridge Road, CO Appellate Tribunal.

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m. Labour Party Rooms, Westgate. "South Africa" J. Boston. PPU.

Tuesday October 28
BEDFORD: Corn Exchange. L. John Collins, Damaris Parker-Rhodes. CND.

BIRMINGHAM: 7.45 p.m. 19 Newark Craft, Sheldon 6. Members meeting. PPU.

LONDON, N.W.8: 8 p.m. All Saints Ch. Hall (St. John's Wood). Mock TV Press Conf. Colin Willis challenges Dora Russell. Film. Admission 2s. CND.

PETERBOROUGH: Town Hall. Anne Clark, Dr. Wilfred de Kok. CND.

SALFORD: 6: 7.30 p.m. 63 Moorfield Rd., Manchester Central PPU Group.

Wednesday, October 29
HORSHAM: Town Hall. Nigel Calder Roger Snowden. CND.

LONDON, N.W.1: 6.30 p.m. Friends Ho., Euston Rd. "Peace Forum" Questions and discussion with Panel from Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

LONDON, N.14: 8 p.m. Bourne Meth. Ch. Hall, Southgate. Debate on Unilateral Renunciation of Nuclear Weapons. Rev. D. A. Rhymes, Kennedy M. Whittier, J. Maynard Smith, John Chapman. Chair: Edwin Malindine. CND.

LONDON, E.1: 8 p.m. Lambourne Hall, Western Rd. "Should we keep the H-bomb?" Ron Ledger, Mr. Martin Dakin, Dr. D. G. Arnott, Mrs. Anne Clark. Chair: Owen L. Thomas, BA. CND.

SHEFFIELD: 3 p.m. Victoria Hall. Christmas Fair. PPU.

YEovil: 7 p.m. 37 Preston Rd., Rev Leslie Hayman of NZ "My work and travels." Slides. FoR.

Thursday, October 30
DUBLIN: Mansion House. Mervyn Jones. CND.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Group Discussion. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 7 p.m. St. Martin-in-the-Fields Church, Trafalgar Square. Rededication service conducted by Rev. Geoffrey Nuttall, DD. FoR.

NOTTINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Co-op Hall, Upper Parliament St. "Peace or Pieces?" Rev. J. Russell. Rev. C. W. Harrington. Chair: Dr. E. L. Loewenthal. FoR.

Friday, October 31
BELFAST: 8 p.m. Wellington Hall (YMCA). The Very Rev. George MacLeod, Mervyn Jones. CND.

LONDON, W.8: 10.30 a.m. and 1.15 p.m. Town Hall, High Street, Kensington. CO Tribunal.

LOUGHBOROUGH: 7.30 p.m. Quest Hse. Stuart Morris "My Visit to Russia." PPU and FoR.

Saturday, November 1
BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m. George Cadbury Hall, Bristol Rd., Selly Oak. Kathleen Lonsdale "International Law and International War." WILPF.

MARROGATE: 10 a.m.—5 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Oxford St. Continuous showing of "The March to Aldermaston." CND.

LEEDS: 3.45 p.m. 27 The Avenue, Alwoodley Park. Deaconess Irene Bell on her visit to Israel and Jordan. Lantern slides. APF.

SOUTHGATE: 7 p.m. Bourne Meth. Ch. Hugh Brock "A Personal Account of the Aldermaston March." MPF.

WOLVERHAMPTON: 3-6.30 p.m. Low Hill Community Centre. Half-day School. Wilfred Well-locks. "Feeding a Hungry World." Film. Fee including tea 4s. 6d. Wolverhampton and Dist. Peace Council.

Sunday and Sunday, November 1 and 2
CRICH: 4.30 p.m. Sat.—4.30 p.m. Sun. "The Brains" Vegetarian Guest House, Crich, Derbyshire. Conference on East-West Relations. Stuart Morris. Org. by Leicester PPU, Sec: Iris Martin, 9 Stanfield Rd., Leicester.

WORTHING: Sat. 3 p.m. and 6.30 p.m. Sun. 2 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse. Mill Road. Weekend School "Pacifism in the Cold War" Sybil Morrison, Allen Skinner, Myrtle Solomon. Details from: Frances Morgan, 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonards-on-Sea, or S. Bilson, 33 Compton Rd., London, N.1. London and SE Area PPU. All welcome.

Friday to Sunday, November 7 to 9
JORDANS: Conference on "Worship and Meditation" org. by Fellowship of Friends of Truth. Details from V. G. Worthington, Woodbrooke, Selly Oak, Birmingham 29.

Saturday, November 8
LONDON, W.1: 3 p.m. Ch. Hall. King's Weigh House Ch., Binney St. Bazaar. Opening by Sybil Morrison. "Look Through My Living Eye." Pictures, verse, music. PPU Religion Commission.

Saturday and Sunday, November 15 and 16
ST. IVES: Weekend Conference, "The Race Problem in Modern Society." Details from H. King, 18 Penvenion Terr., Redruth, Cornwall. PPU & FoR.

